

Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN SS-25

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 030717

EXDIS; FOR AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG FROM THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OCON, CSCE

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- FINAL PHASE TACTICS

REF; BELGRADE 829; BELGRADE 873

1. CY AND I WERE DEEPLY IMPRESSED WITH YOUR COMPREHENSIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION IN BELGRADE. WE
AGREE COMPLETELY THAT WE ARE MAKING SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS
TOWARD MEETING OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVES FOR THE BELGRADE
CONFERENCE, AND WE ENDORSE FULLY YOUR PLAN TO SUPPORT THE
NNA INITIATIVE AS THE BEST MEANS OF COMMENCING
NEGOTIATION OF A SUBSTANTIVE FINAL DOCUMENT. YOUR PERSONAL
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ROLE IN RAISING THE POSSIBILITY OF A US DRAFT HELPED
SPEED DEVELOPMENT OF THE NNA PROPOSAL. THE REPORT OF
SOVIET READINESS TO AT LEAST BEGIN PARTICIPATION IN THE
CONTACT GROUPS CONTAINED IN BELGRADE 873 IS WELCOME NEWS
AND INDICATES THAT YOUR EFFORTS HAVE NOT BEEN IN VAIN.

2. I CAN IMAGINE THAT IN A FAST MOVING SITUATION SUCH AS NOW EXISTS IN BELGRADE, THERE HAVE AT TIMES BEEN DIFFERENCES WITH THE HEADS OF OTHER ALLIED DELEGATIONS. YOUR COMBINATION OF PERSONAL INITIATIVE AND WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE, WHICH YOU DEMONSTRATED IN AGREEING TO ALLIED REQUESTS THAT YOU NOT TABLE A US DRAFT, HAS, IN OUR JUDGEMENT, BEEN JUST RIGHT. I KNOW THAT AS THE NEGOTIATIONS DEVELOP, YOU WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK THE APPROPRIATE MEASURE OF AMERICAN LEADERSHIP TO ENSURE THAT ALLIED UNITY IS MAINTAINED.

3. THE MAJOR DILEMMA PRESENTED IN YOUR ANALYSIS IS HOW TO MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE FOR NEGOTIATION OF A SUBSTANTIVE FINAL DOCUMENT WITHOUT OVER-EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DOCUMENT ITSELF. I WAS IMPRESSED BY YOUR THOUGHTFUL DISCUSSION OF SOVIET EFFORTS TO DOWNGRADE THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BELGRADE MEETING, AND AGREE COMPLETELY THAT WE SHOULD SEEK TO MAINTAIN THE ROLE OF THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AS THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE CONFERENCE. IN THIS CONNECTION, IF IT APPEARS THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY, I WILL BE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING YOUR FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS OF HOW THE CONFERENCE MIGHT BEST BE CONCLUDED. OF SPECIAL INTEREST WOULD BE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF HOW LONG WE SHOULD RELY ON THE NNA INITIATIVE BEFORE SEEKING OTHER SOLUTIONS, AND WHAT YOU THINK THESE SOLUTIONS SHOULD BE.

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4. WE ALSO OF COURSE FULLY SUPPORT YOUR EFFORTS TO ENSURE CONTINUED ATTENTION TO PURSUIT OF HUMANITARIAN ISSUES AT BELGRADE. I BELIEVE IT WAS MOST APPROPRIATE FOR YOU TO MENTION IMPLEMENTATION IN YOUR JANUARY 27 SPEECH. F

5. WE STILL HAVE NO INDICATION ON TIMING OF A POSSIBLE SHCHARANSKY TRIAL, BUT OUR BEST ESTIMATE CONTINUES TO BE THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT BEGIN A TRIAL WHILE THE BELGRADE MEETING IS IN SESSION. WE HAVE STRESSED TO THE SOVIETS THE ADVERSE EFFECT A TRIAL WOULD HAVE ON US-SOVIET RELATIONS. OUR MESSAGE WAS PRESENTED LOUDLY AND CLEARLY BY A NUMBER OF PEOPLE ON THE US SIDE WHO MET WITH THE SOVIET PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION DURING THEIR RECENT VISIT. AT SOME POINT FURTHER EFFORTS COULD, HOWEVER, BE USEFUL. WE WILL KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH

YOU SO THAT WE CAN FINE TUNE OUR STRATEGY IN THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY.

6. YOU ARE ALSO CORRECT IN NOT SPEAKING PUBLICLY ABOUT A CONNECTION BETWEEN CSCE AND SALT. AS WE HAVE DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON, THE ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT LINKING OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS WITH STRATEGIC QUESTIONS, PARTICULARLY SALT, IS PRODUCTIVE OR USEFUL. WE CONTINUE TO STATE PUBLICLY THAT SALT AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE NOT LINKED IN US POLICY AND THAT EACH ISSUE HAS AN IMPORTANCE OF ITS OWN. I AM SURE THAT THE SOVIETS TAKE THE POINT THAT THE SHCHARANSKY CASE AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AFFECT AMERICAN PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS US-SOVIET RELATIONS IN GENERAL, BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT PUBLIC STATEMENTS IMPLYING ANY MORE DIRECT LINKAGE WILL ADVANCE OUR INTERESTS IN SALT OR IN HUMAN RIGHTS.

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7. ONCE AGAIN, MY HIGHEST COMPLIMENTS ON THE FINE ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN BELGRADE AND FOR THE MANNER IN WHICH YOU ARE HANDLING THIS DIFFICULT TASK. OUR THOUGHTS WILL BE WITH YOU AS YOU ENTER THE IMPORTANT FINAL PHASE OF THE BELGRADE TALKS. WARMEST REGARDS.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

*** Current Classification *** SECRET

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